6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Amusements.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Constitution of the family.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.
"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.
"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*
"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" [1]

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *dotonzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house- and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive, custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; big; *chung*, small; *pa—ndia* (Hindi); *yang—ur* or *par*, as in *pardda* (Hindi), one beyond.

[1 QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON. — ANALYST]

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valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *koths*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Laddkh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e, Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Musalmán.	Others.
Kúlu	60,000	...	223	21
Láhaul	4,504	...	21	30
Spiti	1	1,100	...	1

"In Kúlu, including *waziri* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorij, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

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retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in short the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kaneta, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *thákurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kaneta, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

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"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *chóti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostín*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhodtens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum* is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[782] [776] 174 779 177 564 167

In the time when the *Lung pachhé* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Káugra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

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"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

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"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rarig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Trilokináth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

[788] [786] **Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.**

● 184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chánig* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

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"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

771 177

796 241 **Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.**

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two druma, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system.

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

[See also preceding page, cat. no. - Analyst]

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Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

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797 As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

● 184 Education.

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In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

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142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 565 184 [711] 564 565 582 264 564 264 564

Chapter III, C. — Tribes and Castes and Leading Families. Caste in Spiti.

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *kadák*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensí, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monba* or *mompa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethas correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mompa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE AND ARBORICULTURE.

Chapter IV, A. Agriculture and Arboriculture. Detail of area with reference to agriculture.

The areas of cultivation in Láhaul and Spiti as ascertained at the revision of Settlement by Mr. Lyall were respectively 3,096 and 1,184 acres. A detailed statement adapted from a return printed in Mr. Lyall's report is subjoined. Commenting, however, on the figures Mr. Lyall states his opinion that the "real cultivated area (in Spiti) is about half as much again as that shown in this return." It may, therefore, be approximately given as 1,775 acres.

Area (in acres) cultivated and barren in Láhaul and Spiti.

Subdivision.	Paying revenue to the State (*Khálsa*).		Revenue alienated or remitted (*Jágir* and *mafi*).		Total area assessed.
	Barren.	Cultivated.	Barren.	Cultivated.	
Láhaul ...	1,053,713	1,999	350,807	1,097	1,407,616
Spiti	1,342,816	1,119	...	65	1,344,000
Total ...	2,396,529	3,118	350,807	1,162	2,751,616

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

Barley is the principal crop in both *wazíris*; a very fine description of wheat, with six tiers of grain on each ear, is also grown in Pattan in Láhaul, and from Kibbar downwards in Spiti. Major Hay puts the return on seed sown in Spiti at 14 to 1 for barley, and from 10 to 12 to 1 for wheat. Mr. Lyall's enquiries led him to think that this estimate is about right as an average. As three *khal* or *lakh* (land measure) are found to be about equal to an acre, it may be estimated that an acre produces in Spiti 42 *khal*, or 12½ maunds of barley, and 36 *khal*, or 10¾ maunds of wheat; this is taking the *khal* at 12 *ser* only, which is rather less than its real capacity. In the upper villages the crops are occasionally blighted by early frosts, but on the whole the harvest must be unusually certain and invariable in amount. In Láhaul the outturn per acre must be rather less on the average, as the cloudy drizzly weather which sometimes prevails, particularly in Rangloi, must do harm. The other crops, besides wheat and barley, are peas, which are much grown in Spiti, but not in Láhaul, and buck-wheat which is common in Láhaul but very rare in Spiti. Mustard is sometimes, but rarely, grown in small quantities for oil. A little *china* is also sown in the lowest part of Spiti.*

* An excellent account of the vegetable productions of Láhaul by Dr. Aitchison was published in Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it.

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless."

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers.

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

593 595 184 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and [465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land 291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves, 515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night, 735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
[291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
● 184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

side valleys, the latter at once detected by a slight difference in dress or dialect. Here came a group of Indian officials from Leh, in front the white turban and coat of the Tehsildar or chief magistrate on an alert little pony with one or two attendants, behind at a little distance his daughter in her closed dandy, then his wife in hers, and their carrying coolies singing as usual ; sometimes the wail of the baby was heard from within the curtain. Leh traders, who put up little temporary shops under canvas along the main street (a series of steps and platforms at the side of the monastery) a detachment of Gurkhas from the company stationed at Leh, two Ladaki girls riding on one pony with a male relation at the side, all these, and many more types we can study at leisure during the ~~long~~ intervals of the performance, which would be unutterably boring apart from the picturesque and varied audience, to whom we are as much a part of the show as they are to us. One more little group, passed as we neared the monastery, deserves mention. Placed on a sort of chair, railed on the four sides and fixed to his saddle, sits a wee baby *Skushog*, the Incarnation of the *dGonpa* at Stagna, about ten miles away. He wears the correct red *Skushog* robes, and processional riding-hat, and wobbles a bit with fatigue after his long ride. We stop to greet him and his attendant lamas, and find he is only six years old, in fact he looks less.

They draw aside to let us pass, and, as we look back to bid him adieu, the rich red of the lamas, the yellow-brown of his pony, with its small offspring sidling up to the mother adding a further baby element to the group, form such a picture against the green trees, *chorten* gate and distant mountainous background, that it makes us wish our camera was not packed up and ahead in our bedding. This tiny abbot re-appeared several times during the ensuing ceremonies, now on the roof, now in a balcony, now in a prominent corner just outside the main door of the *dGonpa*, always with his devoted lama nurse in attendance, and delighting us by his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

some destroyed roofing, were placed to complete the square of the dancing theatre. The audience squatting on the ground were pushed back behind these as each scene opened. In the middle of the main court-yard, some distance apart from each other, and supported by round whitewashed mud platforms were two flagstaffs, capped by yaks' tails ; they were almost as high as the monastery, and from their sides floated out many long prayer-flags. The scene was completed on the first morning, after we had been sent for and had taken our seats, by the setting-up of a large banner, which was let down from the roof above the main door and steps, on which was portrayed a young man with the Buddha type of face. This we learnt represented " Padma Karpo " his real name being " Dugpa Rinpoche." The next morning he was replaced by a more elderly gentleman, called " Galsas Rinpoche," the tutelary god of Hemis. Once in twelve years a still more important deity is displayed, and rites and ceremonies are performed in his honour, while the common people prostrate themselves before him. Above these banners each day a large awning with a yellow silk valance was protruded, whether to shade them from the sun subjectively, or objectively as regards the colour of the cloth, it is hard to say.

But before the drama opens, we must devote a few words to our fellow spectators who will provide us with so much interest and amusement in the long intervals between the scenes. During one of the most tedious of these, when we could hear the drums throbbing for some ceremony within the monastery, a Ladaki informant alleged that the monks had been receiving and eating the offerings of food brought by the common people from near and far. Judging by the size of the congregation this must needs have been a proponled ritual and a sustining meal.

During the acting they crowded on to every available space, roofs, balconies, galleries, steps, platforms, and blocked up all the egresses on the ground floor. Here and there were

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

proud possessors of umbrellas, which went up for sun or showers. Many districts and dialects were represented.

Here were two *Jomos* or nuns from Zankskar, to whom we talked later on when gathered round their camp-fire with their fellow countrymen, young girls of about seventeen and nineteen, sisters, with course manly faces and necks under their tonsured heads and yellow caps. They had come a month's journey over many a difficult pass, but were as cheery as could be. Conspicious were some conjurers from Spitti, who come to Ladak every year, and whose display we had often witnessed in Leh. With uncovered heads, their long hair done in a large number of narrow plaits gave a strangely effeminate touch to their tall, well set-up bodies. Dotted about were ladies from the district of Hanle, some two to three weeks' journey further up the Indus valley, easily distinguished by their peculiar *perags*, which, instead of coming to a blunt point in front, were cut sharply off above the forehead by a straight bar of silver. Many of the women from Nubra and the less known valleys of Ladak wore picturesque dresses of narrow material sewn together in strips with circular patterns stamped on at intervals, giving a striped effect, so pleasing that one wished it had not been put out of fashion by the town ladies of Leh. One old Tibetan with a dark face, looking as if he might belong to the Hanuman tribe, sat devoutly under an umbrella the whole time, and, whenever we looked across, he was turning his two prayer-wheels, which he held one in each hand. Such devotion had no doubt prevented him from attending to his wild unkempt hair for many a long day. There were also many ladies wearing nothing on their heads to cover their untidy plaited hair: these were nomads from the Changtang, the great northern plains far away. Now a small person takes up a central position and serenely breaks open apricot stones to extract the kernels, using a stone to crack them on the base of the flagstaff. A gentleman with a yellow silk brocade dressing-gown and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

tremendous red hat is seen making his way purposefully through the crowd, and one wonders what, whence, whither? Then comes into view a curious figure with a tremendous prayer-wheel, a strange hat with a central peak, and a high scolloped turned-up brim, a conspicuous rosary, and two small drums on his back: a sort of gipsy lama, or shall we label him a mendicant magician in this land where priest-craft and devil-worship, ecclesiastical ritual and sorcery, are so closely mingled.

There we spy a typical Tibetan face, framed by a four-flapped dark orange cap; and now a pretty Ladaki girl, in a very Dutchy hat with turned-up corners and a little bit of gold embroidery, detaches herself from the crowd and makes signs to a friend on the roof above us, a delightful touch of colour being added by a yellow rose fastened in the side of her hat. Occasionally we spot a woman from Central Tibet with her round head-dress a strip of red-covered leather shaped into a ring, studded with turquoise and coral, and wearing the quaint striped apron which she and her sisters effect. In the corner, under the shelter of an overhanging roof, we find a little family comfortably ensconced, their baggage sacks having been arranged as pillows for a witchlike old lady who leans wearily back on them. Here and there stand out extra highly coloured hats on our own Ladaki neighbours, even the gentlemen having had their head-gear re-covered for such a festival. The flat Mongolian faces and quaint wee garments, generally raggedly elflike, of the babies, are particularly fascinating, especially one tiny man belonging to the front row in the quadrangle floor, who runs out into the arena every now and again to guilelessly practice the movements he has just witnessed, causing real joy to the crowd. One larger boy, caught trespassing by a monk with a whip, is seized and given a mock beating, which amuses him as much as the onlookers. Here are some Dard ladies from Hanu, far down the Indus valley, with their bag-like caps fastened down on one side and adorned with a row of needles (probably made in Birmingham).

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ...oetans AJ4

So from time to time one interesting type after another appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the

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As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the river to make the return journey to Leh on the other side, we passed a large *chorten* surrounded by small trees, on which was painted a hideous three-eyed monster, the patron saint of Hemis, and then caught up with one more fascinating little group of pilgrims. This trio were returning up the Indus valley to the wilds, two women and a man in the dress of nomads. On their backs were strange casks like old beer barrels with the outlet well pegged. Looking in over the top we found they were lidless and contained all their cooking pots, while the remainder of their travelling requisites, probably all their worldly goods, were packed on the back of the donkey, whose foal trotted at her side.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

COLLECTANEA

SOCIAL FESTIVALS IN LADAKH KASHMIR

184 In that part of Western Tibet called Ladakh social functions differ in certain respects from those which exist in Lahul, though the inhabitants in both districts share a common language, Tibetan.

A

796 373 The New Year[1] festival begins on the 10th month of the Tibetan calendar, continuing from the 25th until the 30th day. On the 25th day of that month each household prepares 30–40 little receptacles which serve as small lamps for illuminating the house. These are called *Bu-La*, and are made from the residue of mustard seed from which the oil has been extracted by pressure. The mustard oil is then poured into one such little lamp and a wick put in to float in it. These little lamps are lit at 8 o'clock in the evening. One such lamp is placed in the window of each room in the

[1] *New Year*

My Tibetan informant told me that originally the Ladakhis celebrated their New Year in the 12th month of their calendar as is the custom in other parts of Tibet, but in 1841–42 when the Dogras invaded Western Tibet and subjugated it, the Ladakhis decided to celebrate their new year in the 10th month so as to enable them to fight the invader. It is said that a large number of the Ladakhis having determined to take their wives and children along with them to the war, they were finally induced to forgo fighting altogether rather than expose their families to the dangers and rigours of war. (For information concerning the conquest of the Western Empire of Tibet, see Dr. A. H. Francke's "A History of Western Tibet".) The Ladakhi new year has therefore been observed in the 10th month ever since.

[113]

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lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

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Ladak

temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of marriage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail.

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness".

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

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595 601 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the [797] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable [792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 114 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 595 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak. In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 342 [354] Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 833 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.

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It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold.

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No-

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

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being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

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headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do